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842 types of food division (for work activities) than by having plenty of daughters to share in the wealth of the maternal lineage.

Veti says on this matter: my ideal family would be composed of equal numbers of male and female children. I would like daughters to assist in the work of the house while they are young and unmarried. I would like them for the food shares they bring in. Even though daughters are nominally lost to the family when they marry out and go to live elsewhere, nevertheless the system is so flexible that their husbands can generally be rallied on to help with food and work when the occasion demands. A son is necessary, especially a first-born son, so that the name of the family can be handed down to later generations.

As long as the daughters do not marry early, the father is assured that their food shares will be brought into the house for a reasonably long time. Whereas the adult son may get independent, go to live elsewhere, and take his food shares away from the house from an early age, a daughter would rarely be so independent. If the unmarried daughter has children, these remain with their mother's father if he so desires and insists, even though the daughter later goes elsewhere to live with the man she marries. These "illegitimate" children bring in more food shares to his household, and thus increase his wealth and status in the community.

[848]

Whatever prospective parents may prefer their child to be, no method is known to influence its sex. They can only fervently hope that the child will be what they desire. They may express their hope aloud in such words as, "*E pe te tau tama e wai tama-wawine!*" (If only our child will be a girl!)

Delivery

844 The pregnant woman continues to live in the house of her husband or father, if she is unmarried, up to the time of her confinement. When she feels labor pains (*mahotinga* or *mahotahotaka*) she goes outside to the back of the house, if this is a quiet place, and lies down on a mat or coconut sheet placed on the ground.

No coconut cream or other purgative is given before labor to clear the lower bowel. In delivery, the parturient woman sits on the ground with her legs stretched out and apart in front of her. Should this position become uncomfortable, she changes to a squatting position. But she soon resumes the preferred sitting position. A medicine man specializing in obstetrics (*tangata mahawawa*) or, failing him, any close male relative, sits in the same position behind her; she may also sit on his outstretched legs. The parturient woman is further assisted by another adult, usually a woman, mother or mother's sister, who squats in front of her and leans forward, pressing her hands down on the parturient woman's knees, thus giving her support in her straining movements (*fakamanga*). When the baby comes (*to*, falls) it is taken either by the mother herself or else by the attendant in front of her. To help the woman in delivery, the *tangata mahawawa* applies physical therapy (*papangi te tau mahi*), pushing with the heel or the palm of the hand on the small of her back. If the baby appears to be coming out feet first, it is turned (*awaroi*) before delivery, by external digital manipulation of the abdomen.

845 783 Delayed childbirth or prolonged labor pains (*papa lahala*) are believed to result from the woman's having copulated with another man after she became pregnant by the blood father of her child. When relatives hear of the hard labor, they gather about the parturient woman and urge her to confess (*hiki*) all her sexual sins (*pala*). She is expected to confess in great detail from the first to the latest sexual irregularity. Only then can the child be delivered. An unmarried mother is also expected to confess all her sexual irregularities, giving the names of all the men with whom she has had intercourse, together with a list of all other sins she has committed. Confession is followed

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845 with physical treatment. Formerly, a medicine man (*tangata pule*) was consulted. He diagnosed the case, then went to his god house, performed the pigeon-calling *lupe* ritual to his god, and received from the god advice on the treatment of the trouble. The god's advice seems to have been of a stereotyped nature, the suggestion that the medicine man return to the mother and give her several smart slaps (*papahinga*) in the small of the back at frequent intervals. Today this procedure is followed as of rote. The parturient woman is not allowed to swim, but she is encouraged by her attendants to get up and walk about in the hope that the gentle exercise will encourage delivery. If this has no effect, *niu helohelo* is prepared and given to the mother to drink: the grated flesh of a young nut is mixed with the liquid of the nut. The patient drinks about one pint at a time, repeating the dose at intervals if necessary. This medicine (*lakau*) is considered slightly laxative and is also supposed to cool the blood. Another recommended medicine, also taken at intervals, is coconut cream mixed with the expressed juice of pandanus keys. No other method is known to hasten delivery or ease the pain. Neither chants nor genealogies were recited to assist delivery.

844 Pukapukan theory is that children born during the night come out head first, and those born during the day come out feet first, in spite of the efforts of attendants to change the position of the child. No explanation could be offered for the case of a child recently born during the day with its head first. A day-born child is reputed to have a short expectation of life, it is likely to die even before it starts to walk. Apela, a young man rapidly making a name for himself as a baby specialist, was in attendance at the birth of a child one afternoon, the third to be born to the parturient woman, the first children having been still-born. Labor was not prolonged. After one *helonenga* (exertion of pressure) attendants saw the infant's head appear. The child did not come out. Five minutes later, the head again appeared, but still the baby did not come. After a further ten minutes of labor, the child appeared feet first, and was thus delivered. Apela plainly felt that the child would not survive infancy, because of its inauspicious introduction to the world.

845 It is related that formerly the birth of a child later to become a man of supernormal strength, caused the death of the mother. The child sprang from the womb with such 773 force as to injure fatally the mother's internal organs. Thus were born Wate-maseve-mai (p. 379), Kui, and some of Kui's descendants (1).

When the child has been delivered, the blood is massaged into the cord (*piko*) and 844 along the cord to the navel (*pito*) of the child. Without waiting for the expression of the placenta (*nenue*), the cord is then cut (*kokoti*) by the male attendant or the father with a sharp *vakayi* shell about 5 or 6 inches from the umbilicus, in no prescribed manner. A slip noose is made in a short length of sennit fiber (*pulu kaeta*), slipped over the end of the cord, and passed to a point about 2 inches from the distal end. The cord is not folded back. The noose is pulled tight and knotted with half hitches.

The placenta usually comes away almost immediately without any difficulty. Mrs. Henry reports no failure in the expulsion of the placenta during the seven years she has been in Pukapuka. But should the expulsion of the placenta be delayed even as much as one half hour the parents confess to attendants any sins they have committed. Confession procures immediate expulsion.

844 The placenta falls into a hole (*lua*) previously dug beneath the mother. Placenta 834 and cord are immediately taken by an attendant to a section of the beach owned by the father's paternal lineage and buried in the ground. Clothes badly soiled in parturition may also be buried in the same hole. A *pangua* tree (later to be used for a canoe), a *pulu* tree (the leaves to be used later *for* taro fertilizer), or a coconut tree is planted over the hole. Such a tree is referred to *as te mwaka o Meye* (the afterbirth of Seand-so). But informants suggested no connection between the life of the tree and the 844 life of the child.

The parturient blood (*toto*) is taro. It is allowed to drop into the hole under the mother which is finally covered with sand but not concealed in any other way. No explanation could be obtained for the belief that the blood is taro, nor were any con-

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853 846 end of four nights after delivery. They said a child was never given to a woman other than the mother to be nursed.

Twice daily, morning and evening, the infant is bathed either in the sea or in fresh water, and then rubbed with coconut oil. When the cord falls off, coconut oil is spread on the navel. If the navel is sore, a puka leaf may be placed over it and tied with cotton fiber. The child is kept wrapped in a soft kilt or in soft pandanus mats.

851 There is no difference in treatment for the boy and the girl. No public announcement was made of the birth of the first-born child. Birth customs were the same for members of the chiefly families as for the ordinary populace.

845 A prematurely born child (*tama yuutia*), if it is born alive, has all the usual care devoted to it. Jealousy of her husband on the part of the mother is believed to cause the death of a premature child; her bad heart (*ngakau kino*) kills the embryo. A still-born child (*tama no mate i loto o te manava*) is considered tapu and must be buried in the appropriate cemetery, no matter how immature, deformed, or mutilated it may be. Not to bury the child with care would render the mother unable to bear another child. Such children were not named before burial.

[847] Infanticide is unknown today; there is no record of its having been practised in earlier times.

Twins (*weyenge*) are extremely rare. No ideas are entertained about their desirability. There is no formulated belief as to which of twin children is to be considered the older. Most informants agreed that the first-born would rightly be held the older of the two, though a minority felt that the larger child, irrespective of the order of birth, should be considered the older. No beliefs are held as to the magical powers of twins, nor are any special abilities attributed to them.

Pattern Variations

844 517 Extremely realistic attitudes toward childbirth are held by Pukapukans. No sense of mystery surrounds the event. It is considered interesting to the whole community, as natural as any other fact of life. Anyone who feels inclined, man, woman, or child, has the fullest liberty to be present. Long hours of waiting are helped along with gossiping, joking, and laughter, while the children play about until late hours of the night. But, though the patterns of childbirth are firmly fixed and can be given by most informed adults, nevertheless in specific instances all sorts of confusion and inefficiency may be displayed, some procedures being forgotten, others performed out of order. Each birth is unique in its emotional overtones. A child may be born under matter-of-fact circumstances with hardly a person in the village aware of the fact. In contrast, a birth was witnessed in which the child was a long time being delivered, all those present becoming angry with the par-

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[515] ...patient woman because she would not help by confessing her sins, the final arrival of the baby finding all present quite unprepared:

The patient was a young unmarried Ngake woman, in severe labor. She was a *tamaroko* woo (new to childbirth). Sitting outside the house at about 7 o'clock in the evening on some low, flat blocks of wood which were covered by a bundle of copra sacks, she was bracing herself by pushing down with stiff arms on coconut husks covered by mats piled on either side. She was assisted by five other women, her mother, her older sister, and three relatives. Other people came and went. The sister sat in front supporting the patient's feet under her legs, which gripped the patient's knees and held them tight. The other women held her limbs, her knees or legs, wherever there was room. From time to time the patient's father and classificatory brother came and supported her back, pushing down on her head, shoulders and back. When the labor pains came on, everyone present called out loudly: "Kokono, kokono ke ongo, kokono ke to!" (Bear down, bear down till it aches, bear down till it falls!) Everyone who could reach a hand to the woman gripped her limbs or body and pushed her legs downward and inward to her body, taking care to keep her legs well apart. Some pushed vigorously on her head and shoulders. At times there were at least ten persons all pushing parts of her body and calling to her to push the child out. She was accused of being afraid to prop down and was continually scolded for not telling her attendants when the pains came on. The crowd not only remonstrated with her but also with each other, demonstrating in turn how the pushing should best be done and what type of groaning and grunting best helped the act of bearing down. Men made witticisms at every opportunity. Children became sleepy and drifted off to their homes. Gradually the crowd dispersed.

In the intervals between pains, one of the men or her sister sat behind the patient to hold her shoulders and support her back. For the rest of the time her back was unsupported, for she had been made to sit just far enough away from the framework of the house to be unable to lean against the house walls. She occasionally rose and walked to the beach, supported by her sister; her mother usually remained behind, giving those near by an opportunity to shout to her for not helping. Standing up brought on mild labor pains. The patient's hands and arms became very tired from leaning on them so long, but no change of position was suggested. She would squat low on her legs however or sit on her sister's knees for a change. Mosquitoes began to worry her until one of the attendants thought to fan her. At about 5 a.m. she went off to sleep.

In the morning an old woman of Loto who was reputed to possess special abilities for speeding up delayed deliveries arrived and everyone became noticeably more cheerful. She made up some special remedy for the patient, who refused to drink the rather muddy looking liquid. Later she yielded to pressure and swallowed several gulps. Then she was moved to a shady place on the beach under some coconut trees. The medicine woman placed her hands on the patient's abdomen and shook it up and down; she also exerted pressure with her finger tips on the abdomen in several places. Each time the patient pressed down she had vomiting fits, so she refused to bear down as much as the attending group thought necessary.

[517] There was a constant coming and going of people at this time. There had been a death in Yato early in the morning and the group was constantly changing as women went off to attend the death ceremonies, or returned from them bringing all the news. Children played round the group on the beach. When they became noisy, they were ordered away to play elsewhere or told to go to Yato to see the death.

Noon came with no sign of the baby. The women decided that the patient should confess her sins as the only remaining method of speeding up delivery, but she would say nothing. Soon it started to rain and the patient was removed to the veranda of the house. She drank coconut liquid and ate nto. About 4 p.m., after repeated urgings to confess, the girl broke down, burst into tears, and in a low voice interrupted by sobs, talked freely. One woman said she continued to lie up against her mother, but

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845 another said the girl had cried she was too weak to strain any more and could not bear the child. Her mother and sisters were sobbing violently, and all the women had tears in their eyes. Later all cheered up, *ate ate*, and then the patient fell asleep.

At about 6 p.m. the patient, in severe labor, crying out with real anguish, was sitting on the knees of an old man, attended in front by her mother and sister. The two women were pushing on her body so strenuously that when the child suddenly appeared they did not realize it. A girl among the observers cried out, "Na to!" (It's fallen!). Then everyone, men, women, and children, began screaming with a deafening uproar. Each person shouted just what should be done, but no one moved and the child lay on the ground where it had fallen. The sister jumped up and began to run to and from the house, until she realized that fresh water was the first thing needed. She ran off to a well close by on the beach (nothing had been prepared for in advance) and came back with water which the parturient's mother put in her mouth and spat out several times over the baby's head as it lay on the ground, to ensure that it would open its eyes. The sister rushed to the house and came back with a spool of thread, which was what the crowd was now screaming for. She handed the spool to a third woman near by, one of those who had been shouting loudest, but this woman refused to take it, saying she did not know what to do with it anyway. Then the sister ran back for a pair of scissors, and finally the patient's mother cut the cord and tied it with the thread. Then she picked up the baby and started off to the beach, but she was recalled by the shouts of onlookers, who told her to care for her daughter. She gave the infant to her other daughter, who sat with it on the veranda of the house. Everyone wished to know whether it was male or female, but the girl was fearful of uncovering the child, now wrapped in rags. Finally she turned the rags back, mistook the cord for a penis, and said it was a male child. Noticing the mistake, she looked a second time, and announced definitely the child was female.

Meanwhile the old man massaged the new mother, and the placenta came away. The baby's grandmother helped the mother to her feet and supported her to the beach. When the grandmother stooped to pick up a comb she had dropped, the mother tottered and would have collapsed had someone else not run to her support. When she got to the beach she was washed as far up her body as her navel, was given a change of dress, and made to sit down on the beach upon a pad of coconut fiber. She commenced to hold in her bruised tightly, but was allowed to lie down on a mat and rest for a short while. She was given a drink of warm coconut liquid while the men dug a hole on the beach and buried the placenta and cord. The infant had opened its eyes and moved its hand to its mouth. It was wiped with soiled rags and then covered with a piece of rag that its mother had been using all day as a handkerchief. The sister opened a mature coconut, scraped some flesh into a dish, which was squeezed into the mouth of the child by the grandmother. Meanwhile the mother was taken inside the house. The grandmother continued to hold the baby in her arms all night, feeding it occasionally with coconut cream. Next day, the mother was sitting up, tightly clasping her breasts, while the grandmother was starting to make a mat for the baby. The child lay face downward on a pillow close beside its mother.

Feasts and Naming

851 The birth of a child introduces a new member to the various social groups
[553] of the community. This introduction is marked by the holding of two feasts
574 and by the naming of the child:
612 Immediately upon the birth of the child, the bilateral kin groups of the child's parents prepare food, first for the *pouki* feast. This is a small division of taro and fish, occasionally also of pig, arranged by the father for all those relatives and friends present at the birth of his child. It constitutes payment for the services of those attending the

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watching the delivery. For some reason it was an extremely difficult birth and I became terribly frightened by what I saw. The child was born dead, but my mother soon became well again.

I loved my father much more than I loved my mother. My mother was never unkind to me, but it was my father who did most for me and gave me all the little things that I wanted. This is the reason I loved him more. My father not only sewed up clothes for me, but he washed them as well so that I would always have a clean dress for school or church. I do not think that I ever wished to marry him.

I remember that as a child I was especially frightened of old people. When I passed them on the road or in the bush it always seemed as if they were threatening me with knives, as if they wished to cut me up. I was afraid of ghosts too, like everyone else. Adults always frightened children, and children each other, with the cry, "Look out for the ghost!"

As a girl I loved to play at having babies. We used immature coconuts as babies just as the little girls do today. Sometimes only girls played this game, at other times both girls and boys, aged 10 years or so. We played at marriage and intercourse. After a pretended cohabitation, the girl-mother stuffed the coconut inside her dress and realistically gave birth to her child, imitating labor-pains and letting the nut fall at the proper moment. My mother did not like me to play this game, and she whipped me whenever she caught me at it. But I played it frequently all the same, because all the girls thought it was the best game. Other games we played were those that are common today, such as hide and seek, guessing games, water sports, and the game of a mock court where people are arrested by policemen for committing adultery (the game of *wai tale* that the children of Yato told you that they played all the time during their recent stay at their reserve islet of Motu Kotawa). I had many girl friends as a child, and we used to play together during most of every day.

When I was about 12 years old my father died in Samoa. Several years after this my mother married a man younger than herself. I was glad to have a new father for a change.

who was easily angered, and he went to live in another house. 159 593

After we had been married for some time Ono told me to have a child. I was afraid I could not. I thought that my mind was not sufficiently set on having a child. But after two years I bore a son. I wanted the first child to be a girl, Ono wanted a boy. We had intercourse almost every night without exception right up to the time that labor pains set in. The delivery was hard. It lasted a day, a night, and until noon the next day. Ono helped me with his arms, holding me and giving me all the support I needed. My milk came in three days. It was plentiful. We waited for a month after the delivery until the blood and water had dried up before having intercourse again. The second child, a boy, and the third, a girl, came along after this and I cannot remember anything special. Our fourth child, a boy, died after he had reached the crawling stage. Soon after the birth of the fifth child, another boy, Ono died. 159 353 159 345 [334] 159 165

We buried Ono in his family cemetery. Not long after this, Witu, whose wife was dead, came to court me as did many other men. They thought that I would make a good wife for them because I had so many children. I did not like the way the men came to the house at night because I thought the children would wake and see us together. When Witu asked me to marry him I agreed because I wanted someone to be a father to my children. Witu had had a son by his first wife but the child was dead. I took my children and went to live in Witu's house, the house where we are living now down by the pond. Witu is a good husband to me. He is never angry. He is always pleasant. He is a good fisherman. He is a good lover. These two babies that I have now, they are Witu's sons. He is delighted with them. That is why you always see him playing with them if he is home when you come to our house. 159 593 537